

826 /165 cont./ inward, while he is convinced that he will die if
158 this should really happen (1). Koro literally means "to shrink."

1. The signs reported with respect to women are: the breasts become flatter, the nipples shrink, and the labia have a tendency to recede. Only women help the female patient. The phenomenon is less frequent with women than with men.

Van Wulfften Palthe and Slot regarded the phenomena as expressions of an anxiety neurosis (2).

2. See Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië, 1935, Vol. 75, pp. 836 ff. and 811 ff. respectively.

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826
● 755 [595] The description of one certain case, as it was reported by an informant, ran as follows. A man of around forty-five years of age, married and with children, had taken a second wife. He had kept this fact a secret from his first wife because he was afraid of her jealousy. After a certain length of time had elapsed, however, his second marriage nevertheless became known. One evening when he had come home tired and sleepy, he was overcome with tremors and broke out in a cold sweat of fear. He had the feeling that his penis was becoming smaller and smaller and that it was suddenly going to turn inward. Upon his shouts for help, neighbors came running in to him. One of them held the penis tightly in order to prevent it from receding, and another man went

158 /165 cont./ to fetch a sanro (Makassarese physician). After
826 some time had elapsed, and the sanro had performed a number
755 of rituals, the feelings of anxiety disappeared. For this day,
the attack was past.

Women are kept away from a male koro patient. It is be-
lieved that their presence would cause the dreaded event, the
receding /166/ of the penis, to take place, and it is believed
[76] that in that event the patient would die. People mention with-
out much trouble a number of instances of individuals who
supposedly died of koro.

158 Slot reports that koro occurs among adult Makassarese and
Buginese of each social class and both sexes. The phenomenon
755 may appear in groups. It is not the consequence of a modified
libido. The Makassarese combat it by using influences regarded
as positive, for instance, by using the flowering cluster of the
male lontar palm as medicine and through the avoidance of
negative influences, among which the turtle is mentioned (1).

1. The thought of the
disappearance of this
animal's head under its
shell gives the patient
an unpleasant association
according to one informant.

158 Finally, Slot explains that the cause of koro may be a
sense of guilt, but that this cause is ethnologically determined
because the admissible and the inadmissible are here different-
ly interwoven than in western Europe. He speaks of feelings
of guilt while van Wulfften Palthe believes that it is anxiety
feelings that lie at the base of the koro phenomenon.

158 Now that the koro phenomenon has been described from
181 the psychological point of view as an expression of anxiety,
one may attempt to indicate from the ethnological point of
view how this anxiety can have its genesis. To this end I

Halmahera OH12

Toradja OG11

Bahan OC5

Borneo OC1

Nias OD11

Sundanese OE7

Makassar OG6

8a [150 cont.]

778 liver hurt me," said a Dajak, "when I heard that my house had
826 burned down." The Malayans speak of sakit hati, "pain in the
827 liver," that is, "angered," and ketjil hati, "piqued"; the
H
778 Tobélореes of Halmahera, when they hear something shocking,
827 say, "my liver is burning."

N
T
778 Only among a few peoples in the archipelago is the heart
827 itself looked upon as the central seat of mana (Niassans, Kailians
of central Celebes).

I
778 The blood, however, is regarded as one of the principal
826 carriers of much [151] mana; it throbs in the body wherever a
827 pulse is seen or felt. Blood therefore plays an important role
when sacrifices have to be made to avert disasters, as a means
of driving out sickness, as a symbol of unity. Above all, it is
believed to possess purifying powers. For this reason, when a
house is dedicated, blood is painted on the beams and posts.
Bo
[755] In case of sickness, the Dajak of Sarawak build a miniature
778] house which they sprinkle with blood and place in the home of
the patient; for three days no stranger may enter so that the
patient is able to have the full benefit of the power residing in
the sprinkled blood, since he has lost so much by his sickness.

I
[844] The placenta and umbilical cord possess great magical power
for the newborn child, and they are given the name of the
child's parents or called his "younger brother" (1).

1. The name for the placenta in various
languages of the archipelago means
"young brother."

S
782 A Sundanese kiai (teacher) used the following formula as an
776 incantation: "His Majesty, King Djati Koembara, my brother,
777 who was a placenta and is now an angel in the land of the north,
778 promised at the time of my birth to protect me from storms, the
detonation of guns, long swords, and spiced foods. I now ask
for this protection seven times by day and seven times by night."

I
844 The placenta is buried with care; it is preserved during
M the first year of the child's life (among the Makassarese) for
778 use in case of sickness to supply the missing life force, etc.
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777

Toradja 0611
Atjehnese 004
Makassar 066
Sundanese 0E7

[160 cont.]

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824 What is done with animals is also done with plants. Because the Dracaena terminalis is so strong and always grows again when it is clipped, the leaves of this plant are used throughout the whole archipelago for both religious purposes and medicines. Who in the Indies has not seen the lank stems with red or green leaves that the people carefully leave standing in a cultivated field? The Dracaena, as well as other plants that have the same characteristic of tenacious vitality, is used to add to the mana of man.

Other plants are used for the same purpose because of their name. It is believed that the nature of the plant is in the name, and so name and substance are identified with each other.

T
278 To give some illustrations, the Toradja have a plant, lontoeroe, which is used as a sedative because toeroe is "to sleep."

A
755
278 In Atjeh, in order to help someone back to health, he is cooled by sprinkling him with water that has been mixed with rice meal. The sprinkling is done with a brush made of a certain plant, sisidjööe, "cooling."

M
755
278 Ratong-rara, the blood of the rara, plays an important role in the healing art of the Makassarese because rara means "firm" and is thus specially suitable for making one's vitality firm.

I
754
278 It is possible for one to be robbed of mana, in which case the therapy lies in getting it back or in breaking the influence that caused the sickness.

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753 [161] Just as primitive man has the same explanation for all sickness, lack of magic power or lack of mana, or the presence of one aura or another, the magic power of spirits, gods, demons, or persons, especially priests who hinder the action for the sake of their own mana, for their own vitality, so also does he regard death, not as the result of natural development, but always as the consequence of outside influences. It is the personified spirits of smallpox, cholera, fever, etc. that are the cause of death. "Aja noe ngaheureujan, there is someone bothering him (or her)," say the Sundanese of a sick person. The

S
753

Gorontalo OG4

Atjehnese OD4
 Makassar OG60
 Halmahera OH12
 Borneo OC1
 Nias OD11

At [169 cont.]

764 time she has unraveled the tangled thread and threaded the
 755 broken needle day will break and she will have to put off her
 lugubrious outing until the next night.

I
 764 The openings in the face of an ordinary corpse are covered
 755 over many times because the organs of sense can no longer be
 used.

N
 C
 B
 H
 M
 [764
 755] When it comes to the burial, the first thought is to make it
 as difficult as possible for the deceased to find his way back to
 the house. For this reason, the corpse is not taken through the
 usual exit but through a hole made in the bamboo walls of the
 house (southern Celebes, Halmahera, Borneo). On Nias, the
 corpse of a woman who has died in childbed is taken outside
 through the flooring. The heathen Minahasa go quickly around
 the house several times with the corpse to confuse the deceased.
 Sometimes stakes are placed along the road to the burial ground,
 or one makes a great noise or starts a fire or returns from the
 burial ground at a trot or along a different path.

At the burial ground itself there are ceremonies that indicate
 no one wants any more to do with the deceased. We noticed
 several times at Chinese burials that a coconut would be split
 in two, one half was thrown in the grave and the other half was
 kept by the mourners. Or a piece of rattan was torn in half
 lengthways and the one half placed in the grave and the other
 kept. The idea behind this is that in the same way as the two
 halves of the coconut or rattan can never come together again,
 so the separation between the deceased and those he left behind
 is complete.

N
 [764] On Nias a cloth is sometimes torn in two over the shoulder
 of the deceased.

[170] Often the grave is dug so that the deceased lies with
 his head toward his house. This is done chiefly with persons who
 have suffered violent death. They are not looking in the
 direction of their house and are not so likely to be filled with
 thoughts of revenge. Furthermore the grave is oriented toward
 the west because it is in the west that the entrance to the land of

2: Wilken--601 E-5 (ca.1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Manassar
Batak

066
0D5

Gorontalo 0G4
Ambon 0H4
Ceram 0H9
Javanese 0E5
Malays AN5

G [552 cont.]

755 patient was not cured, it was a sign that the soul had not been
774 found. Among the Ambonese Islanders, the Alfoer of Ceram,
A etc., there is the idea that sickness is caused by the departure of
C the soul, which is prevented from returning by an evil spirit.

753 J Here, too, the assistance of a priest is required for a cure. A
MI survival of this view is found even among the more highly de-
MK veloped Javanese, Malays, Buginese, and Makassarese.

753 J The Javanese, like the Malays, call the soul sumangat, the
MI Makassarese and Buginese sumangá and sumangá, words that are
MK identical with the Batak sumangot, the spirit of a deceased blood-
Bt relative.

774 The sumangat is someone's life-spirit, which, according
775 to the conception of the natives, leaves the body not only at
753 death, but also in case of fright or a faint, and good health is
755 achieved only through its presence. If the soul goes away, one
becomes sick, and it must be called back by a priest. This is
8t done among the Batak by having someone scatter rice on the head.

[829] The sumangat can also pass into another human being or into an
animal, which creates such a secret relationship between the two
that the fate of the one becomes entirely dependent on that of
the other.

I The above shows how general animism is in the archipelago.
771 We have seen how fetishism and spiritism, the religion of primi-
774 tive peoples, developed directly from it. In general among the
peoples of the Malayan Archipelago we find spiritism as the re-
ligion more than animism. It must be recognized, however, that,
although the former is to be distinguished from the latter, [553]
they cannot always be separated, in other words, spiritism and
fetishism often blend into each other, and one cannot tell where
the one stops and the other begins. As we have noted, for ex-
Bt ample, the Batak believes that all objects, living as well as in-
774 animate, have a soul. Thus, rice has a soul, the rice-soul,
772 tondi-ni-erne. As soon as the rice starts to bloom, an offering
776 is made to its soul; otherwise one would run the risk of angering
it, because the soul of the rice can become angry. If that should

Ambon OH4
 Moluccas OH2
 Makassar OG6

MO [559 cont.]

I exclusively who are persecuted by the pontianak, but the hus-
 TSF bands, too, have to fear these spirits. Among some peoples,
 843 especially in the Moluccas, there is the belief that they rob the
 MO men of their genitals. Therefore, their evil influence is lifted
 [842] through offerings, exorcism, etc. Among many peoples, preg-
 nant women always carry a small knife with them as a means of
 defense against the pontianak.

MX Some peoples try to prevent those who die in childbirth
 I from becoming pontianak for which several means are used. The
 A Ambonese stick pins into the arms and legs of the corpse and
 TSF put three eggs under the chin and both armpits. The hair is
 843 wound around a nail hammered into the coffin, and then the
 766 whole body is covered with fishbones. The same custom, some-
 what modified, is found among the Makassarese. Here, too,
 an egg is put under each armpit of a woman who has died in child-
 birth, and the arms are pressed tightly against her body and a
 few needles are stuck into the palms of the hands.

h. Supreme Being

I As we noted in the beginning and have shown by some
 776 examples, the religion of the Indonesians is principally spiritism,
 [775] the worship of the [560] souls of the deceased and of spirits, who
 wander about disembodied, although it is believed that both
 these spirits and the souls of the deceased prefer to live in rivers,
 on trees, in forests, etc. the souls are generally favorably dis-
 posed; the spirits are good and evil.

Originally, none of the spirits had a higher rank than any
 other. In the course of time, however, the notion of a supreme
 god developed nearly everywhere. Among some peoples, this
 is nothing more than a primus inter pares, but among most peo-
 ples from this highest spirit there developed a conception of a
 definite godhead, a supreme being that is above and beyond the

848 There are very few illegitimate children. There is a
684 great taboo on this, and those present knew of only a few
784 cases over a very long time. They said that a girl usually
178 leaves before her belly becomes enlarged. In former times
they would have killed her, because this caused great ill to
the land (no rain, etc.); just as in the case of incest. Thus
I see three things here which cause disaster in the sex line,
and for which the actors were formerly killed: incest, a
lower man marrying a higher woman, and bastards.

762 Regarding the story of the suicide pact between lovers,
834 they said that they did not think it was very much, because
567 such behavior was not respectable. They added that it was
probably true of the slaves. (Thus the blame is placed all
on the slaves.)

178 They are interested in the princess show on swings in
584 Segeri. They agreed that a go-between is used in arranging
585 a marriage. Regarding marriage they said that the Moham-
887 medan nikah [marriage] was performed with the bride not
present. Following that, the adat rites are observed. At
the latter, perhaps forty years ago, a man's headcloth and
his bride's badju [upper garment] were sewn together. They
said that this was not done by a bissu, but by an old woman
of the village. They do it no longer, but remember it from
former times. Thus old customs go. They were non-com-
mittal regarding the lamp-blowing-out story. They also
said that they no longer have the custom of using money to
get into the bride's house and mock fights. But they do
defer consummation, and for three nights the bridal couple
is watched. They seem to think that this was merely a part
of the many-days wedding ritual.

632 They agreed about the many dual offices in old Goa. They
still have the two tomarilalang. [older tomarilalang: highest
official on South Celebes, i. e., chancellor. Younger
tomarilalang: master of ceremonies for ruling noble--
Analyst].

764 Then we got on to the Kale Goa practices, and they as-
782 sured me that that is where the ruler was crowned. Also
563 in that place there are old graves, including one big kera-
755 mat [holy grave] where there are several graves, and thou-
sands come from all over to visit these places. Every day
the place is thronged. We went there, and sure enough, it
was much like the Lebaran in Batavia. There was a cemetery
with amazing stone tombs in a strange shape (imitation of
old cave stuff?). In any case it is clearly megalithic,
mausoleum type. There are also many regular graves. In
addition there is a mosque and also a keramat building. In

the latter there are ten graves of former radjas who were also holy men. One was especially important. Over the door was a sign in Arabic telling about the dates and lives of the men there buried. The dates are from 1600 to 1700, the Golden Age, of course. Busses are loaded going to this place, and the area itself is thronged. The people buy oil cakes and bring real flowers and lay these on the graves. The graves are thick with flowers. Then the people make their request, for example, for a child to get over an illness. I saw at least two Chinese there and I was told that plenty of them come to make requests. I did not go to the Kale Goa place with the graves today as it was too late. I will go tomorrow morning. I had little time to go into religious matters, but these matters are very strongly held here. I will cover these notes later on.

I took Saleh to meet Nunuhitu, the translator and typist.

Ternate and the Moluccas: I met the Sultan of Ternate in the club, where he stayed until 3 A. M. He touched no alcohol. He said that if he were in the United States he might drink, but not in Indonesia. He is a very little fellow, his clothes being too large for him, and is in the room next to me at the hotel. He is very keen and speaks English very well. He was in Australia during the war and spent quite a bit of time with the Americans. He even has a familiarity with American slang, for example, merry-go-round. A Dutchman said that he is 100 per cent Nederlander, and he spoke thus, but evidently not a stooge. He says he knows that he will have to yield to the folk here soon, but admits that other radjas are often not of the same disposition as he is. He has an intelligent progressive mind evidently, and although he works with the Dutch, he knows why. That is, he realizes that the Indonesians need their help. He is a member of the East Indonesia Senate. Evidently there are very few in this body, and they are the highest only. Thus the Tidore sultan is not in this body, but in the House of Representatives. The Sultan said that the siwa and lima were old Ternate and Tidore customs originally. Ternate, in the old days, was divided into nine negri or tribes, and everywhere rule among the people was divided into nine divisions. This is no longer true on the island, but he knows that it once was this way. He says that two of the original nine negri still exist. Tidore originally was divided into five negri and wherever the local adat was extended it was so organized. I asked him how he knew about this, and he said that his father had told him. His family has been in direct ruling line for 600 years and these old things are passed

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/129 cont./ The people then went to ask forgiveness of the Datoe, the descendant of La Dondorio, and then the Datoe gave medicine, charmed water, which was drunk by the sick, and then many became better. Sometimes he gave a charmed piece of wood or curcuma; little pieces of it were chewed and spit on the body of the sick person, or it was rubbed with it. The water charmed by the Datoe was kept in a bottle, and when a contagious sickness made its appearance, this water was mixed with a large quantity of ordinary water, and at eventide when the chickens went to roost, all the people, large and small, were sprinkled with it; this was continued until the sickness had gone away. In such times of sickness no one should cross the road with a piece of wood or a spear in his hand, because then many spirits roamed about, and if one of them was touched by the wood or the spear, he would make the person sick. The physicians (sando) say that when a hornbill (alo) flies across the road, one must say nothing about it, for the bird is possessed by a spirit, and if one says something about the bird, one is made sick by him (VIII, 28). Teka-teka (Phenicophaeus calyorinchus) and monkeys are also sometimes possessed by spirits that bring sickness (napeontjoga).

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15. The Datoe-ri-tana of Mori.

Some of the East Toradja brought their tribute to the Datoe-ri-tana, the regional chief of Mori in the east of the country. This title means "ruler over the land." At the time, the last Datoe-ri-tana, Maroendoe, declared that the Datoe of Loewoe' had given him this title because his residence, Petasia, lay so far inland, in contrast to the Loewoe' residence Palopo, which lay close to the sea. The Loewoe'ers, however, use this name as a term of derision for the Mori ruler.

It was the tribes of the To Pakambia, To Pada, and To Poe'oe-mbana, together with the subsidiary small tribes of the To Kalae, To Tananda, and To Watoe, that were subject to the Datoe at Petasia. Originally these Bare'e-speaking tribes must also